

Razing Residences and Removing Residents: The Mentalities of Public
Housing Demolition in Poindexter Village

Research Thesis

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by

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Abstract

In 2008, the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) announced plans to demolish and redevelop Poindexter Village, a public housing community in the Near East Side adjacent to the Ohio State University Hospital East. Although preservation experts found that rehabilitating and reusing the properties for affordable housing would cost less than redevelopment, CMHA moved forward with demolition, displacing the neighborhood's approximately 1,200 poor and elderly residents. In place of Poindexter Village, CMHA will construct a mixed-income development, consisting in part of public housing meant for the poor and elderly. At first glance, it appears bizarre that developers and city officials would dislocate poor and elderly residents only to invite other poor and elderly people to live in the new development, especially when the possibility for reusing the existing properties was viable. In this paper, I ask: how have planners and policymakers been guided by neoliberal mentalities that privilege economic investment and growth as a strategy to address social problems? Through interviews with development actors, I found that many developers were guided assumptions that privileged economic growth and entrepreneurialism as the proper strategy for achieving positive social outcomes. I also found that many developers had internalized racist assumptions regarding a "culture of poverty," which intersected with the privileging of economic growth. These assumptions led development actors away from considering alternative planning strategies that may have preserved additional affordable housing. I also offer a critical history of Poindexter Village showing that these practices represent in many ways continuity rather than a new era of planning practices and mentalities.

Introduction

In the heart of Columbus's Near East Side, between Champion and Ohio avenues, sit 26 acres of concrete, bricks, and refuse, on what appears to be a rather typical – if unusually large – collection of vacant lots. The apparently mundane characteristics of this space belie the rich histories and communities that once characterized it. These are the tattered remains of Poindexter Village, one of the nation's first public housing developments. The felling of Poindexter Village by a coalition of major public institutions represents an attempt to transform the site in accordance with prevailing norms of economic competition and spatial determinism. I examine a case of mixed-income planning organized around Ohio State University Hospital East as an anchor institution, an institution that is fixed in place as a pole of attraction for economic investment. I ask: how have planners and policymakers been guided by neoliberal mentalities that privilege economic investment and growth as a strategy to address social problems?

I draw from Huxley's (2013) utilization of a Foucauldian conceptual framework to historicize and problematize the nearly ubiquitous practices of community participation in urban planning projects. Through an examination of historical texts from the 18th and 19th centuries, she traced the development of multiple mentalities -- historically contingent forms of knowledge that influence individual discourse and practice -- related to norms of community and social participation. Huxley (2013) found that the interplay of these mentalities encouraged academics and urban planners to internalize discursive frameworks that posit community involvement in processes of urban planning as an appropriate strategy for the problems posed by urban development.

Whereas Huxley (2013) examined historical texts related to norms of community participation, I examine contemporary discourses articulated by development actors in the redevelopment of Poindexter Village to understand the mentalities that encouraged them to view mixed-income planning as the appropriate strategy for neighborhood transformation and poverty amelioration. With the demolition of Poindexter Village concluding in early 2014, the current state of the redevelopment project provides an

important opportunity to examine the mentalities underlying the perspectives of development actors before new residents move to the site. While the mixed-income strategy that development actors are utilizing in this case is quite typical of contemporary urban development, I find that the decision to embrace this strategy was not inevitable. Rather, many development actors -- though not all, as I will show -- were predisposed to reject alternative development proposals that may have reduced displacement and preserved additional affordable housing because they had internalized neoliberal mentalities privileging economic growth and the economically competitive use of space (Foucault, 2008).

Many development actors also had internalized mentalities of white hegemony, which influenced their belief in a degenerate "culture of poverty" among the neighborhood's predominately African American residents. I find that these racist mentalities articulate with neoliberal mentalities, encouraging many development actors to conceptualize the residents of the community as economically unproductive and racialized. The connection of neoliberal mentalities to racist mentalities reflects what Black feminists have long argued: that both identities and oppressions all are mutually constitutive (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990). The intersection of mentalities of racism and neoliberalism influenced many development actors to view the residents of the community as subjects helplessly reliant on social welfare programs and in need of proper governance.

My analytical focus on the worldviews that produced planning decisions also reveals that the development coalition has been characterized not by homogeneous interests, but by numerous actors with differing -- occasionally oppositional -- development priorities. I also find that development actors had internalized contradictory commitments to both liberal discourses of equality and neoliberal discourses of competition and individual entrepreneurialism. For instance, one development actor expressed a belief in the necessity of jobs paying living wages but saw the direct provisioning of such jobs as undesirable "handouts." These contradictions exist within prevailing and intersecting mentalities of neoliberalism and white hegemony and result from the uneven enrollment into those mentalities among development actors. While the neoliberal development strategy persisted despite the existence of inconsistencies, critically

examining these contradictions may prove useful in identifying potential points of rupture for strategies of resistance.

As McGuirk (2012) has noted, urban governance emerges through an assemblage of diverse interests, priorities, actors, and strategies. Investigating the development coalition as a heterogeneous and contingent assemblage brings clarity to the unfolding of the decision-making process and also signals the limitations of many leftist analyses of urban planning that essentialize elite actors by assuming homogeneous interests and priorities. For instance, critical political-economic analyses that assume *a priori* the existence of shared interests among developers based on economic class may fail to recognize contradictions in interests that exist alongside similarities in class positions (Crump 2002, 2003). My alternative approach, which foregrounds individual discourse, creates the possibility of examining the interests of each actor and investigating contradictions that exist within underlying mentalities.

In addition to analyzing the perspectives of elite actors in the redevelopment project, I offer a critical history of Poindexter Village that illustrates continuity. Although many of the institutions involved in the planning process are new, I show that the mentalities underlying the contemporary development strategy represent persistent processes rather than a new era of planning practices and mentalities. I develop my historical interpretation by drawing from Foucault's (2008) understanding of neoliberalism as a longstanding mentality that privileges economic competition. This perspective differs from the conventional leftist view of neoliberalism as a contemporary strategy of ruling class reconstitution developed during the 1970s (Harvey, 2005). Prevailing critical analyses of public housing that utilize this narrower conceptualization of neoliberalism often miss the continuities across planning practices, identifying strategies of demolition and mixed-income redevelopment as a deregulation of the progressive housing practices developed during the New Deal period of the 1930s (Crump, 2002, 2003; Hanlon, 2007).

My findings show that the demolition and redevelopment of Poindexter Village is only the next stage in a violent and destructive cycle of demolition and neoliberal rationalization carried out on that site

throughout the last century. Furthermore, my findings indicate that the mixed-income strategy has involved not the deregulation of historical practices but the development of new practices of regulation aimed at governing low-income residents in accordance with neoliberal mentalities through techniques of devolution and individualization (Larsson, 2003; Konings, 2009). Foucault's (2008) broad understanding of neoliberalism enables the possibility of identifying continuities in the underlying mentalities governing urban planning practices and discourses across what are perceived often as discrete historical periods.

In 2008, the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) announced their intention to demolish and redevelop Poindexter Village. Shortly after CMHA's announcement, the Ohio State University and the City of Columbus established a development coalition with CMHA and pledged their support to finance and carry out the redevelopment project. The coalition, named Partners Achieving Community Transformation (PACT) expressed a common interest in creating "an environment in the community that stimulates investment and growth" (Wray, 2011). Poindexter Village's strategic location near downtown Columbus and immediately adjacent to OSU Hospital East made it central to redevelopment in the broader Near East Side. To this end, the members of PACT jointly contributed \$1.25 million to the redevelopment project, followed soon by an additional \$10 million investment over the next decade by OSU.

The demolition of Poindexter Village followed a period in which community stakeholders submitted alternative development proposals. Most of these proposals centered on the retention and rehabilitation of many of the 35 buildings comprising the original site, with some advocating construction of additional affordable housing units. CMHA rejected these proposals and began the displacement of residents Poindexter Village in late 2011, following the acquisition of additional financing through PACT. The elite discourses accompanying demolition centered on poverty amelioration and individual mobility, characterizing the process as a beneficial act of relocation. These discourses coincide with academic perspectives that deny the reality of displacement resultant from gentrification, often characterized as exaggerations by leftist academics and activists (Freeman, 2004, 2005). Contrary to these

perspectives, the practice of demolition involved significant displacement, forcibly removing the 1,200 residents from their homes, dispossessing them of their livelihoods, and scattering them throughout the broader region.

The planning strategy, developed by PACT and carried out by CMHA, centers on the construction of a mixed-income housing development on the site. The new housing development will consist of a small number of public and subsidized Section 8 units, alongside a larger amount of market-rate units for rent. These residential units will be interspersed among commercial and retail properties, organized around University Hospital East. Once construction is complete, CMHA will invite low-income residents to apply and compete for residence in the diminished supply of public housing. Although the displaced residents of Poindexter Village have been promised priority consideration, there will be insufficient housing available for all of them.

PACT envisioned the changes that they believe this redevelopment project will help stimulate in the broader community:

The Near East Side will prosper as a revitalized and diverse mixed-income neighborhood that builds on its important history and current residents while welcoming returning and new neighbors. The many existing assets will be strengthened and future opportunities will be swiftly realized. Quality housing for all; healthy, educated and employed residents; vibrant streets and beautiful green spaces; thriving retail; and above all a safe environment will be the defining hallmarks of our neighborhood. (PACT, 2013)

On the surface, it appears bizarre that a development strategy with these expressed goals of poverty amelioration and neighborhood transformation would demolish affordable housing and displace and dispossess long-term residents of a neighborhood, only to allow just some of them to move back to the completed development. Furthermore, the decision to redevelop the neighborhood as a mixed-income development ensures that fewer housing units will be available for those facing poverty and housing instability. Why raze the neighborhood, further marginalize already marginalized and oppressed residents, and destroy the fabric of community, rather than revitalize it with the well-being of the longtime residents in mind?

Situating the Case Study in the Literature

As many scholars have noted, mixed-income strategies have become an established feature of urban planning across most economically developed nations, especially in Europe (Criekingen, 2012; Lees *et al.*, 2012; Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012). The involvement of OSU and the neighboring University Hospital East in the redevelopment of Poindexter Village has joined prevailing practices of mixed-income planning and anchor institution-led development. As economic capital has become more mobile across space, anchor institutions have become increasingly responsible for ensuring sustained urban development and growth (PIUR, 2011).

While many urban scholars have studied the application of mixed-income planning strategies across a variety of urban contexts, few have critically studied the relationship of anchor institutions to mixed-income planning. The little attention given to the influence of anchor institutions in mixed-income planning has left unexamined the potentially shared assumptions that guide these development strategies. The redevelopment of Poindexter Village presents an opportunity to investigate the connections between these strategies.

Fraser and Kick (2007) have described mixed-income planning as a set of development practices centered the desire to attract and encourage interaction across lines of socioeconomic difference through the inclusion of multi-income housing and an application of neotraditionalist design aesthetic. As a development strategy, mixed-income planning draws on the framework of neighborhood effects and concentrated poverty developed by Wilson (1987) and the spatial framework articulated by Fleming *et al.* (1985). Wilson's (1987) theory of neighborhood effects identified the increasing concentration of poverty in poor neighborhoods as the principal cause of urban decline. According to Wilson (1987), as the number of poor residents in a neighborhood increased, the problems popularly associated with poverty (e.g. unemployment, drug use, and teen pregnancy) become generalized at the neighborhood level. These negative neighborhood effects, which he termed "concentration effects," created a cycle of "self-

perpetuating pathology" that was nearly impossible to break within the context of concentrated poverty (1987: 4, 58).

Whereas Wilson (1987) targeted the concentration of poverty in space as a cause of urban decline, Fleming et al. (1985) viewed the reorganization of space within neighborhoods as a strategy for community building and transformation. Utilizing Boyle's Law, which posits an inverse relationship between spatial proximity and individual interaction, Fleming et al. (1985: 330) argued for communities that minimized distance between residents and encouraged what they termed "passive social contact." This refers to casual, daily interactions that can develop into longer and more meaningful interactions. By creating shared spaces and densely organized housing units that would facilitate passive social contact, architects and urban planners could encourage the creation of community in a neighborhood and improve individual well-being (Fleming et al, 1985).

Drawing from the above frameworks, proponents of mixed-income development regard the facilitation of socioeconomic mixing as essential to attracting economic investment, generating growth, and encouraging poor residents to become self-sufficient (Quercia and Galster, 1997; Bair and Fitzgerald, 2005; Gentry, 2009; Cisneros, 2009; Engdahl, 2009). Joseph et al. (2007) have helpfully outlined the assumptions underlying these practices. Proponents of mixed-income developments believe that wealthier residents, with their significant economic capital, will attract new businesses to the community through their demand for goods and services. Proponents also expect the presence of economically productive residents to provide a positive behavior modeling effect for the poor residents of the community. Poor residents, routinely seeing and interacting with these wealthy "role models," will internalize norms of personal responsibility and economic self-sufficiency and seek gainful employment.

To facilitate these goals of socioeconomic mixing, mixed-income planning often incorporates the design aesthetics known as New Urbanism (Talen, 1999; Day, 2003; Kenny and Zimmerman, 2003; Elliot, Gotham and Milligan, 2004; Hanlon, 2010). According to Talen (1999), the principles of New Urbanism, based on the framework established by Fleming et al. (1985), are founded on the belief that

restructuring the built environment of neighborhoods to encourage passive social contact can foster stronger feelings of community, generate greater social capital, and strengthen civic ties. New Urbanism emphasizes small, semi-private shared spaces; the mixing of land uses for residential and commercial purposes; and the creation of pedestrian-friendly spaces.

Discourses advocating the demolition and redevelopment of public housing encouraged the passage of the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program in 1992 (Crump, 2002; 2003; Hanlon, 2010; Popkin *et al.* 2004; Fraser and Nelson, 2008; Chaskin, 2013). The HOPE VI program repealed one-to-one regulations that required local housing authorities to construct a new unit of public housing for each unit they demolished. It also established a competitive grant process, through which housing authorities could apply and compete for limited redevelopment resources. As of 2007, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) had distributed more than \$6 billion in HOPE VI grants, funding over 250 demolition and redevelopment projects (Fraser and Nelson, 2008).

Many scholars have praised the HOPE VI program as an efficient solution for the problems of urban poverty (Quercia and Galster, 1997; Bair and Fitzgerald, 2005; Gentry, 2009; Cisneros, 2009; Engdahl, 2009). They have noted the dramatic reductions in poverty in census tracts surrounding HOPE VI developments. For instance, Engdahl (2009) has found that the poverty rate in the census tract containing Park DuValle, a HOPE VI development in Louisville, Kentucky, dropped from 78% to 28%. Bair and Fitzgerald (2005) examined the influence of mixed-income planning on property values in surrounding communities and found an average increase of 8-10% for each quarter-mile closer to a HOPE VI site. Scholars have also found significant reductions in crime in most HOPE VI developments (Quercia and Galster, 1997; Gentry, 2009; Cisneros, 2009; Joseph *et al.* 2007; Popkin *et al.* 2004).

Although public housing demolition and mixed-income redevelopment often stimulates significant changes in the characteristics of poor neighborhoods, critical urban scholars have identified numerous problems within mixed-income developments that call into question the claims of the strategy. These problems involve obstacles to residency in the public housing units (Hanlon, 2007),

marginalization and exclusion experienced by public housing residents within mixed-income communities (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010; Chaskin, 2013), and the perpetuation of poverty for most of the public housing residents (Cheshire, 2012; Fraser et al., 2012; Manley et al., 2012).

According to Hanlon (2007), the mixed-income redevelopment of public housing almost always results in a net reduction in public housing units in a city, because public housing comprises a small proportion of most mixed-income communities. Hanlon (2007) also found that the requirements for residence in many public housing units are significantly stricter than those of traditional developments. For instance, the Park DuValle development required public housing residents to maintain employment and full-time enrollment in a college or vocational training program but provided few resources to help them accomplish this goal (Hanlon, 2007). These standards made it impossible for many low-income residents to qualify for residence. In addition, the limited number of available public housing units forced poor individuals to compete for residency.

Even when low-income individuals are able to gain entry into these public housing units, the reemergence of patterns of segregation along lines of race and class often preclude the possibility of socioeconomic mixing (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010; Chaskin, 2013; Cheshire, 2012). Chaskin and Joseph (2010) found that the public housing residents in two mixed-income developments in Chicago faced significant barriers to integration in these developments due to exclusionary decision-making processes and hostility from some of the wealthier residents. In a follow-up study, Chaskin (2013) found that wealthier residents in several developments frequently filed numerous complaints against public housing residents for non-criminal behavior, such as the hosting of barbeques and parties, which exacerbated animosity among the residents.

Le Galès (2012: 27) has blamed the difficulties of socioeconomic mixing on the tendency of most social groups to engage in 'a complex game of distance and proximity' with those belonging to other groups. Ettlinger (2009) has articulated a more critical perspective, arguing that mixed-income development and many other strategies ostensibly aimed at integration fail because they view segregation

principally as a problem of location. These strategies seek to facilitate integration and inclusion by bringing historically segregated populations into closer spatial proximity to each other. However, because these strategies do not address the underlying social relations that produced segregation, groups tend to self-segregate even within explicitly desegregated spaces (Ettlinger, 2009).

In addition to the apparent inability of mixed-income developments to facilitate socioeconomic mixing, emerging analyses have also called into question the presumed economic benefits accrued to public housing residents (Cheshire, 2012; Fraser et al., 2012; Manley et al., 2012). Cheshire's (2012) broad comparison of the economic characteristics of low-income residents living in traditional public housing and in mixed-income environments found no statistically significant differences in employment or income among the groups. In a study of mixed-income developments in Nashville, Tennessee, Fraser et al. (2012) found that the most important factors for the few residents who did emerge from poverty were the low rents of the public housing units and the free educational programs offered by the developers. The presence of wealthier neighbors played little to no role in helping these residents emerge from poverty (Fraser et al., 2012).

Manley et al. (2012) have targeted underlying methodological flaws in the framework of concentrated poverty as a primary reason for the failure of socioeconomic mixing to alleviate poverty. Many analyses of the effects of concentrated poverty erroneously utilize aggregated data obtained from the neighborhood level to make claims about individuals living within the neighborhood without establishing a causal link between the two (Manley et al., 2012). More sophisticated, cross-sectional analyses of numerous neighborhoods also have not been able to demonstrate that concentrated poverty was responsible for these individual problems (Manley et al., 2012). Manley et al. (2012) have concluded that it is much more likely that poor individuals, who already face problems of unemployment, locate in neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty simply because they cannot afford to live anywhere else.

Many other critical scholars have dismissed claims regarding concentrated poverty and poverty

amelioration as a cover for familiar practices of gentrification (Ley, 2012; Crump, 2002, 2003; Hanlon, 2007). Lees et al. (2012), for instance, has termed socioeconomic mixing a strategy of "gentrification by stealth." Ley (2012) has extended this argument, arguing that discourses of socioeconomic mixing represent a cynical cooptation of progressive demands for racial desegregation to justify the theft of predominately African American neighborhoods. From these perspectives, mixed-income planning has failed to alleviate poverty simply because poverty alleviation was never its genuine goal.

Crump (2002, 2003) and Hanlon (2007) have framed mixed-income planning as a specifically neoliberal strategy of urban development. Hanlon (2007: 83) has viewed public housing demolition as an instance of "roll back" neoliberalism. Roll back neoliberalism is commonly understood as a set of strategies of austerity, privatization, and deregulation, utilized during the 1970s and 1980s, that dismantled the redistributive policies of Keynesian liberalism to facilitate the retreat of the state from the market (Hanlon, 2007). According to Crump (2002: 581), this shift to public housing demolition is indicative of the emergence of a "new neoliberal regulatory regime" centered on the expropriation of valuable urban real-estate as a spatial fix to the problems of urban capital accumulation.

These critiques rely on a conceptualization of neoliberalism, best summarized by Harvey (2005), as a relatively new set of political-economic strategies developed by the state in response to the economic crisis of 1973 and the progressive social movements of the 1960s and early 1970s. From this perspective, neoliberalism is a strategy, developed by the capitalist class, to restore the continued accumulation of capital and reconstitute their class power through a reorganization of production and the retreat of the state from the market (Harvey, 2005).

The above analyses provided by critical urban scholars have contributed significantly to the study of urban geography by illuminating the contradictions between the practice and discourse of public housing redevelopment and situating them in relation to existing literature on gentrification. However, I believe they are limited by their implicit assumptions that privileged actors both share common interests and an awareness of them, as they ignores the actual differences that often exist among actors and the

strategies utilized to enroll them into the development process. Furthermore, the strict periodization of neoliberalism utilized by many of these critiques unnecessarily narrows the temporal scope of analysis. By defining neoliberalism as a recent phenomenon and as a clear break from the practices of the past, this framework guides scholars away from examining the continuities among contemporary and historical practices.

As an alternative, I utilize the critical framework of governmentality, developed by philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault (2000a, 2000b). As a conceptual framework centered on the examination of the "conduct of conducts," a governmentality analysis differs from alternative approaches that view governance principally as the result of explicit political and/or economic ideologies (Foucault, 2000b). These approaches often seek to situate such programs and ideologies in relation to what is understood as reality to determine their accuracy (Foucault, 2000b). The purpose of governmentality approach, in contrast, is to examine the discursive constitution of those aims and the techniques utilized to enroll individuals in the process of governance (Foucault, 2000b). As such, a governmentality framework is useful in understanding how many development actors have come to regard the stimulation of economic competition and growth to be the primary aim of the redevelopment project, despite the existence of internal contradictions.

Conceptual Framework

A portmanteau of "govern" and "mentality," the framework of governmentality seeks to investigate the underlying mentalities underlying the practices and discourses of individuals and groups. A mentality is a regime of knowledge organized around a particular understanding of what constitutes 'truth.' This truth is not 'objective,' understood as being true regardless of social and historical context. Rather, a mentality is an organization of prevailing discourses and practices that shapes what is understood to be true within a given time and place. Reflecting on this point, Foucault (2000b: 225) noted:

[Practices] are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances . . . but, up to a point, possess their own regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and "reason." It is a question of analyzing a "regime of practices" [. . .] where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect.

Those who have enrolled themselves into particular mentalities govern themselves according to the understandings of truth associated with those mentalities. Foucault (2000a) termed this process "governance at a distance," because it is indirect and physically non-coercive.

Foucault's understanding of governance as an indirect process led him to conceptualize neoliberalism as a mentality that privileges economic competition and entrepreneurialism as the prevailing 'truth' (Foucault, 2008). He offered a view of neoliberalism that differs from its popular rendition as a contemporary strategy of class reconstitution, viewing it instead as a long-standing mentality that developed during the constitution of contemporary European states and diffused widely. Neoliberalism, then, is not a break from liberal mentalities but a phenomenon that emerged alongside liberalism in the 18th century. Foucault (2008) considered liberalism to be a check on neoliberalism that "haunts" neoliberal techniques of governance with discourses of equality, though the 'equality' of liberal discourse is never actually realized in practice.

Foucault's perspective also is at odds with the common view that neoliberalism signifies deregulation; rather he viewed neoliberalism as the development of new practices of intervention and regulation. These practices intervene on the framework of the market (i.e. the social conditions in which the market operates) to ensure the efficient operation of competition and entrepreneurialism (Foucault, 2008). Neoliberalism entails a devolution of responsibilities away from government to organizations and individuals, but government regulations have been reconfigured, not eliminated, while others have become privatized (Larsson, 2003; Konings, 2009).

Individuals actualize mentalities in daily life through what Foucault (2000b: 231) termed "techniques of power." Broadly speaking, a technique of power is a strategy or tactic that guides actors to think and act as subjects of particular mentalities. Foucault distinguished between various classifications

of techniques of power, but they operate complementarily at "every level of the social body" (Foucault, 1990:141). Techniques of biopower utilize aggregated data on macro-level phenomena, such as public health, housing, immigration, and social welfare programs and data to constitute a governable population from potentially disparate individuals (Foucault, 1990). Techniques of disciplinary power operate on individuals through, for example, tactics of surveillance and evaluation (Foucault, 1979).

Huxley (2013) has utilized governmentality to develop an approach to the study of urban development centered on a Foucauldian-inspired, critical problematizing and historicizing of planning practices. She encourages scholars to conceptualize planning practices as a historically contingent arrangement of numerous—possibly contradictory—mentalities, and investigate the historical contingencies that produced them. Examining the ubiquitous practice of community participation in urban planning, Huxley (2013) notes that even critical accounts of these practices still operate within a discursive framework that considers community participation to be a solution to the problems posed by urban planning. Breaking from conventional histories that viewed participation as the result of the social movements of the 1960s, Huxley's critical history unearthed the uneven and contingent ways that practices dating to the 18th and 19th centuries developed into contemporary strategies of participation and diffused globally

Following Huxley (2013), I examine the redevelopment of Poindexter Village as the association of the numerous mentalities internalized by development actors. I foreground contemporary, rather than historic, discourses and practices of development actors, while also situating them within a critical history. I have approached this case recognizing that the strategies used by developers were neither the inevitable result of their presumed interests nor a clear break from historical practices. By examining the decision to demolish and redevelop Poindexter Village as one of potentially numerous alternatives, I explain how and why developers came to view this development strategy as the appropriate means of alleviating the poverty of the community. I also draw out contradictions in discourses and practices that exist among the development actors as a result of uneven enrollment into the mentalities that have guided

the redevelopment project.

Research Strategy

Informed by Foucauldian thought, I have utilized an empirical approach that foregrounds concrete and observed discourse (Foucault, 2000b). While recognizing that no researcher can ever operate fully outside of a theoretical framework, this effort to begin analysis with a focus on material and discursive practices lessens the potential for the restrictive tendencies of theory to neglect data that contradict fundamental assumptions (Foucault, 1980). From a Foucauldian perspective, the research process begins with the identification of an "event"--a problematic or puzzling occurrence that provokes clarification and broader study (Foucault, 2000b: 226). Through an examination of the individual practices and discourses associated with the identified event, researchers can begin to unravel the contingent interplay of mentalities that guided them. This is a process that Foucault termed "eventualization." According to Foucault (2000b: 226), eventualization involves:

making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant [. . .] to show that things "weren't as necessary as all that;" it wasn't as a matter of course that mad people came to be regarded as mentally ill; it wasn't self-evident that the only thing to be done with a criminal was to lock him up.

The event that prompted this research project was the apparently bizarre decision by CMHA to demolish Poindexter Village and displace its residents, only to invite some of them to return in a completed development. I encountered this case during my involvement in campus organizing from fall 2012 through winter 2013. I began my research by surveying current articles from local media sources and policy reports from CMHA and PACT and archival research related to the history of Poindexter Village. During my interview process¹, I conducted one-on-one interviews with six of the actors in involved the decision-making processes relating to the development project. The research participants included staff members from OSU/PACT, CMHA, the City of Columbus, the State of Ohio Historic

¹ I received IRB approval to conduct exempted research on 10/2/2013, protocol no. 2013E0398

Preservation Office, a consulting real-estate investment firm, and a consulting architectural firm.

Five of the participants were older, white men; one participant was a young woman of color. The racial disparity and middle class characteristics of the development coalition reflect the wealthy and white hegemonies--the predominant discourses and practices that reinforce oppressive racial and class power relations--that have characterized the broader redevelopment process (Smith, 2006). Although the vast majority of the residents of Poindexter Village were poor and African American, middle class and white men comprised almost all of the privileged decision-making positions.

I identified and contacted initial participants by reviewing articles in local media sources and pursued additional contacts through snowball sampling. I utilized a semi-structured research strategy to conduct each interview, formulating some structured questions relevant to the particular position of each participant while also allowing their perspectives to direct our discussions. Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. I recorded each interview with the use of a digital voice recorder, in addition to taking substantial notes.

I focused my primary research specifically on many of the privileged actors in the process because the discourses of development actors provide an important glimpse into the mentalities guiding the redevelopment project. The purpose of this approach was not to provide a comprehensive view of the effects of the redevelopment project on the residents of the community but to examine why developers utilized a mixed-income planning strategy. Additional research projects should try to locate the displaced residents of Poindexter Village to examine and compare their perspectives to those articulated by the developers. Due to the difficulties involved in identifying and locating the former residents, and the limited amount of time in which to conduct research, it was not possible to include their perspectives in this research project. With demolition of the existing structures in the concluding stages, the present state of the redevelopment project affords an important opportunity to examine the mentalities that are guiding developers and their anticipated results, before new residents have moved in to the development.

The Demolition and Redevelopment of Poindexter Village

Throughout the redevelopment of Poindexter Village, most development actors have governed themselves in accordance with neoliberal and spatially determinist mentalities that privilege the economically competitive use of space as the appropriate strategy for neighborhood revitalization. CMHA submitted a request to HUD to demolish and redevelop five of its public housing developments located in the Near East Side, including Poindexter Village, to begin the process of transforming the community into site of greater competition and growth, and received federal approval in 2008 (Ferenchik, 2012a). The redevelopment of Poindexter Village, then, is only one part of a broader series of planned redevelopment projects. However, the large size of the development and its strategic location in the community near University Hospital East has made it the "single most important opportunity to develop mixed-income housing" in the area (PACT, 2013: 88).

Constructing a "Great City" for a "Truly Great" University

As the largest employer in the Near East Side, OSU and its University Hospital East occupy a significant role in the geography of Poindexter Village. As a development partner, the university's vast resources have been crucial to both financing and promoting the redevelopment project. OSU's involvement in the process began following the establishment of a tax-incentive agreement with the city. In exchange for a \$35 million rebate in taxes paid on the \$1 billion expansion of the Wexner Medical Center on main campus, OSU agreed to invest \$10 million in the Poindexter Village redevelopment project (Heagney, 2012).

Explaining the university's investment in the project, then-OSU President Gordon Gee stated that the "university cannot be truly great unless it is in a great city" (Heagney, 2012). For the city to be "great," it was necessary to transform the Near East Side into a "healthy,

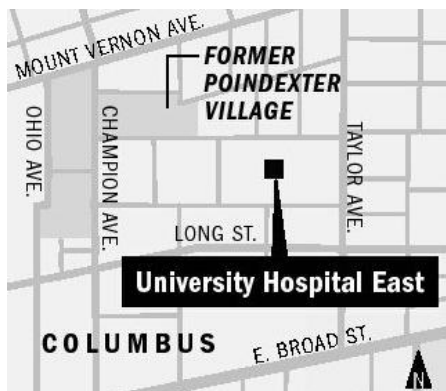


Figure 1. Proximity of Poindexter Village to University Hospital East

financially and environmentally stable community” (Heagney, 2012). To this end, the university seeks to attract new residents, especially medical and other service sector professionals, to the area surrounding University Hospital East (Ferenchik, 2012c). The university's investment in the process reflects the continuation of a neoliberal regime of practices that have transformed social space to spur competition and growth within Columbus over the last few decades.

Historically, many universities developed real-estate plans in relative isolation from the surrounding cities, constructing campuses that physically separated the university from the broader community and largely neglected the urban economy in general (Perry and Wiewel, 2005). In the 1960s, OSU responded to mass political protest and economic disinvestment from the neighborhoods in the immediate area by intentionally disconnecting itself from the surrounding community, closing the main entrances and shifting its focus to the west side of campus (Dixon and Roche, 2005). The expressed purposes of this "town-gown" division were to not only encourage academic insulation but also provide a respite from the stresses and difficulties of contemporary urban life (Dixon and Roche, 2005). In practice, however, this strategy often created significant tensions between universities and the surrounding communities, especially as university expansion often involved the appropriation of poor neighborhoods (Dixon and Roche, 2005).

Over the last few decades, neoliberal discourses have advocated for university administrations to enroll themselves into neoliberal mentalities and reorganize their practices on the basis of market competition and entrepreneurialism. One example is an influential policy brief released by the non-profit Institute for a Competitive Inner City, which states:

Colleges and universities [. . .] are well positioned to spur economic revitalization of our inner cities, in great part because they are sizable businesses anchored in their current locations [. . .] With a strategic view, colleges and universities can have a major impact on economic revitalization without massive new funding. In the process, colleges and universities become more competitive themselves (CC and ICIC, 2001:6).

The report emphasizes the importance of the vast budgetary and employment resources possessed

by most public universities, which can anchor and encourage development in communities "too risky for the private sector"(CC and ICIC, 2001: 8). Universities that recognize and pursue the "enlightened self-interest" that they share with political and corporate institutions through investment in urban development and revitalization projects create greater prestige for themselves and attract more "high level" students and faculty (CC and ICIC, 2001: 8).

The diffusion of these and similar discourses encouraged OSU to shift from their practices of insulation and intervene directly in the economy of the surrounding neighborhoods. Citing its mission as a university, OSU announced plans to invest in the low-income, south-eastern quadrant of the University District by constructing a 500,000 square-foot, mixed-use commercial development, named the South Campus Gateway (Dixon and Roche, 2005). By stimulating new growth, the university hoped to attract students and faculty to live in the area (Dixon and Roche, 2005). The university created Campus Partners for Community Urban Redevelopment, a community development corporation. The university provided \$3 million in initial operating funds, followed by a \$25 million investment from the university endowment for land acquisition (Dixon and Roche, 2005).

The construction of the South Campus Gateway necessitated the acquisition and demolition of the low-income and Section 8 housing units occupying the area, resulting in significant displacement. Although developers acknowledged the displacement caused by the project, they believed the development would ultimately benefit the displaced. As a spokesperson for Campus Partners stated, "What I hope will happen is that, as the appearance of the area improves, the panhandlers will seem less threatening and simply as local color" (Ghouse, 1998). This callous disregard for the welfare of the homeless and poor people affected by the development process is indicative of how mentalities of neoliberalism and white hegemony articulate to influence individuals' conceptualization of the poor (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990). Reflecting on the completion of the South Campus Gateway, the university staff involved in coordinating the project praised the "entrepreneurial culture" and "market-based vision and business strategy" that allowed the university to operate more flexibly and avoid the

"tyranny of mandatory consensus" (Dixon and Roche, 2005: 280)

The discourses associated with OSU's participation in the redevelopment of Poindexter Village involve similar themes, related especially to the mission of the university. As one interviewee, a university staff member, said:

It was natural for us to think about the Near East Side, because we have a hospital, University Hospital East. And at that time we were preparing to open an outpatient facility, which is now open, Carepoint East, and both of those institutions are the anchors of that community. We're the biggest employers; we provide critical services to the community. And that all goes back to the land-grant mission of the university. It is our mission to serve Ohioans and the community we're in. Theoretically, we're the anchor institution for every area in the state of Ohio, but particularly because we have these large institutions in these communities (Interview, January 31, 2014).

Developers, then, have conceptualized the mission of OSU as a public university principally in neoliberal terms. Whereas university administrators once perceived a strategy of insulation and separation as the appropriate response to the problems posed by increasing urban poverty in the surrounding communities, the diffusion of neoliberal discourses has encouraged administrators to utilize an alternative strategy. University administrators now view the stimulation of competition and growth throughout the whole state, rather than the investment of the university endowment to promote equity and educational accessibility, as the imperative of the university. Following the acquisition of funding from OSU, CMHA began the process of displacement and dispossession.

Displacing and Dispossessioning Residents

CMHA provided the displaced residents with Section 8 Tenant Protection Vouchers, which function as individual housing subsidies that recipients may use at other public housing developments or at participating privately owned residences (Ferenchik, 2012a). Due to funding reductions from HUD, there currently is a waiting list of over 4,000 people eligible for Section 8 vouchers in Columbus. However, CMHA obtained additional vouchers for the displaced residents, which allowed them to bypass

the waiting list (Price, 2012; CMHA, 2013).

HUD established the Section 8 program in 1974 (Addie, 2008). Residents enrolled in the project typically pay between 30-40% of their monthly rent, and the housing subsidy pays the remainder. The Section 8 program originally awarded 20-30 year block grants to private landlords to subsidize an established proportion of housing units. In 2000, the federal government restructured the Section 8 program to provide yearly vouchers directly to poor individuals enrolled in the program (Addie, 2008; Crump 2003).

HUD described the shift as an effort to empower individuals to move out of sites of concentrated poverty and exercise choice over their housing options (Crump, 2003; Addie, 2008). The shift in policy represents a neoliberal technique of disciplinary power, devolving responsibility for the acquisition of housing onto individuals, who now must negotiate complicated and unstable housing markets and compete with each other for limited vacancies in the public and private sector (Lazzarato, 2009; Addie, 2008). One interviewee, a staff member from CMHA, echoed discourses relating to individual choice:

We had about 340 people at a meeting from Poindexter to talk about the fact that we were going to close the community and that they were all going to be issued vouchers. And when we made that announcement, they all stood up and cheered. They were very much behind it and enthusiastic about the opportunity to get the vouchers and be able to choose where they wanted to live, rather than be required to live in Poindexter (Interview, December 30, 2013).

Whether this anecdote accurately represents the feelings of the residents certainly is suspect, considering the privileged position of the actor and the absence of the majority of the residents from this meeting. Still, it is clear that although this process did present residents with the opportunity to "choose" from available replacement housing units, it did not, however, allow them the possibility of choosing to remain in Poindexter Village. The limited understanding of choice articulated above reflects a neoliberal conceptualization of individual freedom as the freedom to operate entrepreneurially in the context of the market (Larsson, 2003). While the discourses of developers may portray the provisioning of vouchers as the elimination of regulations obstructing free choice, giving the displaced residents the ability to choose freely their housing conditions, the process actually represents the diffusion of new practices of regulation

that govern residents in accordance with neoliberal mentalities through tactics of individualization (Larsson, 2003; Lazzarato, 2009).

Despite the difficulties associated with moving, CMHA reports that all of the former residents found replacement housing. Most of them relocated from the Near East Side and scattered throughout the broader Columbus area, primarily to the wealthy, suburban communities of Gahanna, Reynoldsburg, Bexley, Dublin, and Pickerington. The relocation of the displaced residents into the suburbs coincides with a broader trend toward the suburbanization of poverty in the United States. Guided by racist and neoliberal mentalities regarding perceived concentrations of poverty and the necessity of socioeconomic mixing articulated by Wilson (1987), many housing authorities now construct Section 8 housing almost exclusively in suburban communities (Crump, 2003).

The spatial redistribution of poverty brings poor residents into wealthier neighborhoods and close proximity with middle-class neighbors, which proponents of socioeconomic mixing believe will encourage the poor to internalize and govern themselves according to neoliberal norms of individualism and entrepreneurialism (Joseph et al., 2007). In addition, the movement of large numbers of the poor into the suburbs supplies the contingent and low-wage labor necessary for the growing suburban economies (Crump, 2003). The OSU staff member expressed mixed views regarding the displacement and relocation process:

Number one thing is that they absolutely love where they live now, way better than Poindexter. It's updated amenities, a dishwasher, washing machine in their unit. When you ask what they love about the new place, they just love having a bigger space. The Poindexter Village units were very, very small. So you think about the furniture you probably have in your home, probably wouldn't fit in something like that.

The one thing people tell us that they miss is the connectivity of [Poindexter Village]. Connected to each other, and just connected to the bus line. 70% of those people don't have cars, and they're living in these very suburban areas, no sidewalks, very little bus service (Interview, January 31, 2014).

The problems of connectivity that the participant described corresponds with Cheshire's (2012)

observations regarding the difficulty that poor individuals face in sustaining social networks and access to necessary services during processes of displacement and relocation. Although proponents of socioeconomic mixing believe bringing poor residents into wealthier neighborhoods will provide them with the opportunity to network with economically productive neighbors, Cheshire (2012) asserts that frequent experiences of racism and other forms of discrimination often makes the formation of networks in suburban networks impossible.

Additionally, when job opportunities are available to poor residents, inadequate access to transportation networks often makes the commuting process costly. As a result, the difficulties faced by the displaced residents of Poindexter Village suggest that assumptions regarding socioeconomic mixing may not be realized. The acknowledgement of some of the problems associated with the process suggests that at least some development actors are aware of problems on the ground, but their privileging of economic growth and competition has led them away from pursuing alternative strategies. CMHA began the implementation of its redevelopment plan following the conclusion of the displacement and relocation process in winter 2013.

Crafting a Neoliberal Strategy for Neighborhood Transformation

Once the site of Poindexter Village is cleared, CMHA intends to construct of 454 new housing units in two primary stages. The first stage of the redevelopment process will consist of the construction of a housing facility for low-income senior citizens, comprised of 104 public and Section 8 housing units. According to PACT, the senior facility is a response by CMHA to the substantial number of elderly individuals facing poverty and housing insecurity within Columbus (PACT, 2013). During the second stage of the redevelopment process, CMHA will construct the remaining 350 housing units in a mixed-income development, comprised of 100 public and Section 8 subsidized housing units and 250 market-rate rental properties.

Developers are utilizing a mixed-income planning strategy because they view the persistent

poverty of the Near East Side as the result of the uncompetitive use of space in Poindexter Village and the inability of its residents to internalize and actualize norms of individual responsibility. In particular, they have targeted the residence of successive generations of poor residents in Poindexter Village as emblematic of the problems of economic irrationality in the neighborhood. As one interviewee, a staff member at CMHA, said:

You know, if you look at Poindexter Village when it first opened in 1940, through the [19]50's, most people would tell you that the folks that lived there worked, they were just low wage earners. Then, the Great Society of the 60s came about, and AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children]. The anti-poverty programs of the 1960s, I would say there were unintended consequences[. . .] You've got multiple generations of public housing residents, and the program was never intended or designed for

that.

Part of the larger point I'm making is that, you know, this isn't just about housing folk. There has to be a self-sufficiency component to this, or we're going to be housing people for multiple generations (Interview, December 30, 2013).

Another interviewee, a staff member at OSU, articulated similar themes:

So with Poindexter, obviously public housing, back in the early 1940s, somebody thought it was a bright idea to put all of the poor people in one place. In their defense, to the former leaders of our nations, public housing was supposed to be temporary. It actually turned into generational poverty. That was a mistake, a huge planning mistake. There were families that lived in Poindexter for multiple generations. Someone grew up in an apartment, lived there as an adult, raised their kids there, and now they're raising their grandkids there. And it's



Figure 2. The organization of the planned mixed-income development.

like, this was kind of designed to be temporary

The discourses of "self-sufficiency" articulated by developers communicate both racist and neoliberal mentalities that target the inability of poor African Americans to internalize and actualize neoliberal norms of individual responsibility and entrepreneurialism, rather than centuries of economic and political discrimination, dispossession and oppression, as a primary cause of their own poverty (Foucault, 2008; Collins, 1990). In doing so, developers in effect devolve and individualize the responsibility for addressing poverty (Foucault, 2008). The discourses of development actors also reflect the diffusion and internalization of spatially determinist mentalities relating to concentrated poverty, as popularized by Wilson (1987). As the OSU staff member articulated:

You can't be what you don't see. If you live in a concentrated, poor neighborhood, you don't grow out of that and pull your bootstraps up, you've never had that social mobility because it's not what you see. Everything you see is people living below poverty. If all you're living around is everybody struggling [. . .] The bottom-line is that we know that doesn't work (Interview, January 31, 2014).

From this perspective of developers, then, it was not only the inability of the residents of Poindexter Village to take personal responsibility but also the concentration of these individuals within space that produced the poverty of the neighborhood.

To alleviate poverty of the residents of Poindexter Village and transform the Near East Side into an economically competitive community, developers consider it necessary to attract wealthier residents to the neighborhood. Reflecting what Joseph et al. (2007) have termed a "political economic" rationality of mixed-income planning, developers believe that the economic activity of wealthy residents will stimulate new investment in the community. One interviewee, a staff member at a housing investment consulting firm, said:

The only way to rejuvenate a neighborhood is to put mixed-income [developments] into it with market rate rentals. To really revitalize a neighborhood, that's how it's done. It's not to continually segregate public housing in that barrack-style housing, which is what it was [. . .] I mean, I can't cite any studies, but it's known that if you get the higher-incomes into a neighborhood, who are going to spend money in that neighborhood, maybe they'll reinvest, spend

money in the neighborhood, take pride in the neighborhood. You just have that momentum that helps out the neighborhood. I think the big thing is spending money, bringing business in there. (Interview, December 2, 2013).

Through these processes of reinvestment associated with the spending of wealthier residents, developers hope to connect Poindexter Village and the Near East Side to neighboring communities experiencing significant investment and growth. On this point, the OSU staff member said:

When I look at this community, I don't see the cash flow. And so we've gotta figure out how to attract people back. Some of it's going to be urban pioneers, to be frank [. . .] I remember the Short North just starting to be revitalized. That was urban pioneers, business owners saying, "You know, High Street is the main vein of our city, this has to be something." So that's what we're trying to use to market this neighborhood. It's wedged between downtown [. . .] and Bexley, which is the wealthiest inner-ring suburb. And so the question is, how do we get this pocket in the middle of these two to be leveraged? (Interview, January 30, 2014).

Conspicuously absent from any discussion of the anticipated changes resulting from the attraction of these "urban pioneers" is the likelihood of demographic change in the neighborhood. As Ley (2012) has observed, the construction of mixed-income housing on sites of former public housing often involves the replacement, through forced and disruptive displacement, of original African American residents with wealthy, white residents. On this point, some residents of the Near East Side have expressed in local editorials concerns regarding gentrification (Smola, 2013). While development actors are aware of these concerns, their response reveals contradictory commitments to both gentrification and poverty amelioration. As the OSU staff member said:

We have to think about what the connotation of 'gentrification' is. Some gentrification is a good thing. It means you're infusing the community with multiple levels of income, specifically disposable income. But that absolutely is not our goal. The one thing that we did when we started our planning process [was that] we said to everybody, "Don't go! We can't afford to lose any more residents" [. . .] But selfishly, we do want to elevate the profile of this neighborhood, because we need to elevate the amazing resources we have here in the millions of dollars of Carepoint and University Hospital East (Interview, January 30, 2014).

Clearly, then, developers believe that leveraging the strategic location of Poindexter Village to stimulate growth in the Near East Side through investment by wealthier residents will not only transform the

neighborhood into an economically competitive site but also benefit the poor residents of the community. That developers could say "Don't go!" to residents of the community at the same time that they also were displacing many of them reveals a strange contradiction.

While it certainly would be easy to dismiss the concern for residents articulated by CMHA and PACT as deceit, I believe it actually is emblematic of a neoliberal conceptualization of social policy. According to Foucault (2008), social policies influenced by neoliberal mentalities involve intervention on the social context of the market -- in this case, through the reorganization of space -- to permit the functioning of competition and the stimulation of growth. From a neoliberal perspective, the strategy of facilitating economic growth is not intended to eliminate poverty. Rather, it maximizes the opportunities for individuals to become competitive and act entrepreneurially. Guided by neoliberal mentalities, many developers have regarded stimulating economic growth through demolition, displacement, and redevelopment as appropriate strategies for addressing the poverty of the community.

Disciplining Neoliberalism: Techniques for Governing "Self-Sufficient" Residents

In addition to attracting wealthier residents to the Near East Side, developers also believe that it is necessary to develop strategies that encourage poor residents to internalize and actualize economic entrepreneurialism and individualism. As discussed earlier, the patronizing view of the residents held by many developers reflects the intersection of neoliberal and racist mentalities (Collins, 1990). Rather than recognize the systematic oppression, marginalization, and exclusion faced by residents of the community, many developers instead believe it is necessary to change what they perceive as a problem of personal irresponsibility in the neighborhood. In doing so, developers have overlooked strategies that could target the fundamental causes of the neighborhood's poverty. Instead of provisioning additional affordable housing, redistributing social resources on a just and equitable basis, and providing jobs that pay living wages, developers have utilized a strategy that has perpetuated white hegemony and classist power relations (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990; Smith, 2006).

Developers have utilized techniques of devolution and individualization to encourage poor residents to govern themselves as neoliberal subjects. One strategy centers on the individualization of public housing itself. Whereas traditional public housing policies once funded entire housing developments and limited residency to those whose income fell below a certain threshold, the mixed-income strategy ties the public housing subsidies directly to the low-income individuals living within the development. As the CMHA staff member explained:

What happens in a mixed-income housing development, you are living in X unit, now it's five years later, you've completed education, job training, whatever it is, and now you're actually in a job, you're working, your income's higher, so now maybe you go from a public housing subsidy to a section 8 subsidy, or you're no longer subsidy eligible, so instead of being forced to move, you can stay in your unit and pay rent [. . .]

So a public housing tenant has the opportunity to climb the economic ladder without giving up their units, because we can take the subsidy and put it on the next person who needs help. And guess what? You've become a market-rate renter and now we have your replacement public housing renter (Interview, December 30, 2013).

By targeting public housing subsidies directly at individual residents, rather than entire developments, developers hope to encourage the low-income residents to develop the skills they deem necessary to "climb the economic ladder" and become market-rate renters. Without any complementary employment programs that actually provide residents with the opportunity to escape poverty, it is unclear how such a strategy of devolution will benefit residents, even though allowing residents to remain in their homes as their income increases may be an improvement over the previous practice.

Operating alongside the individualization of public housing, OSU has developed educational programs related primarily to health care and employment. The purpose of these programs is to target and change what developers perceive as a problem of "culture" within the community, which they believe leads residents to make poor decisions. As discussed earlier, underlying this notion of culture are intersecting mentalities of neoliberalism and white hegemony. The OSU staff member stated:

You know, there's a hospital here. But many of the residents of Poindexter Village were using the emergency room as primary care. So some of the problem is education. So now we have [the

2009 Affordable Care Act]. Now we have the opportunity to really educate people on how to take care of themselves, and use the emergency room only in true emergencies. But really, how to access primary care. Some of that we're working on is training people to be community health workers.

There's nothing like your neighbor telling you, "You have to do your insulin," or, "Have you been to the dentist?" So, really using the community to self-educate. That's the only way you shift the culture around health, and a lot of other things. But they have to shift the culture, the culture amongst themselves (Interview, January 31, 2014).

This perspective can be interpreted fruitfully from the vantage point of Foucault's (2000a) understanding of governance "at a distance." The educational programs discussed by the developer do not involve the use of coercion to obtain the desired changes in resident behavior. Rather, through educational discourses that devolve responsibility for procuring health care to individual residents, developers hope these residents will change their "culture" by governing their own practices and discourses in accordance with neoliberal mentalities. Furthermore, through discourses of community self-education, developers hope to enroll residents in the process of policing and disciplining the practices of their neighbors.

While University Hospital East has agreed to create five jobs a year for the next five years for community members, OSU's primary strategy for providing employment to low-income residents of the Near East Side consists of coordinating GED and vocational training programs with a neighboring community college. The goal of these programs is not to provide residents with jobs directly but to equip them with marketable skills and the ability to navigate the local labor market. OSU considers the direct provisioning of jobs to community members, such as through local hiring provisions written into the development contract, undesirable "handouts," again reflecting the prevailing neoliberal and racist stigmatization of social welfare programs. Reflecting on this point, the OSU staff member noted:

Really, it is about helping empower people to do for themselves. We don't want to come here and say, "Here's your work voucher, here's your school voucher, here's your health voucher." But let's have a dialogue about how you access the services and how you access the greater city [. . .] One of the key tenets that I wanted to know when we were doing this research is: are these jobs greater than minimum wage? I don't want to be training a bunch of people to be making \$10 an hour, because that's not how you can raise a family [. . .] You know, we're really preparing

people. Again, going back to my first notion, it's not a handout. It's empowering people with what they need to know to be prepared for the workforce [. . .] They want to learn how to be self-sustaining, but it's a cultural thing (Interview, January 31, 2014).

The participant's concern regarding low-wage labor provides another surprising contradiction. While they acknowledge the necessity of finding jobs that pay living wages as a means of escaping poverty, they are opposed to strategies that could directly provide community members with these jobs. The conflicting priorities articulated by this development actor illustrate the incoherent and sometimes contradictory nature of governance. Someone may internalize some of the assumptions that found one mentality, such as the neoliberal privileging of economic competitiveness, but also internalize some of the assumptions of other mentalities, such as liberal mentalities related to income inequality. As this shows, governance is rarely the product of a single, overarching logic. Rather, governance emerges through a contingent and relational process, in which individuals unconsciously attempt to reconcile numerous different logics (Foucault, 2000b). Examining the interplay of contradictory logics may reveal spaces of rupture that permit effective resistance.

A Community Alternative?: The Poindexter Village Community Land Trust

Throughout the redevelopment process, residents of Poindexter Village and the surrounding community proposed alternative redevelopment plans to PACT. The plan that gained the most community signatories was the proposal for a Poindexter Village Community Land Trust (PVCLT). Land trusts have gained significant popularity over the last several years as a strategy to curb gentrification and ensure the sustained availability of affordable housing. As proposed, the PVCLT plan emphasized "historic preservation, affordable housing, urban farming, and resident control" (Tompkins, 2012: 3). If adopted, the PVCLT would have transferred management of the 27 acres comprising Poindexter Village to a non-profit organization, in which current residents, former residents, and members of the broader community would possess decision-making authority. The proposal also would have retained those buildings that could be adequately renovated to contemporary standards as public housing, while demolishing and

redeveloping the remaining units into additional affordable housing. It would also convert one original building into a museum to document and celebrate the long history of African American culture and struggle in the Near East Side.

Interestingly, while advocating the retention and democratization of affordable housing, the plan also accepts PACT's goal of constructing mixed-income housing. The text of the plan states:

This [plan] would not run counter to the goals for redeveloping the area as a mixed-income neighborhood, as the vast majority of the Poindexter land would still be available for development of market rate and upscale projects. It would, however, ensure that a place is preserved for the people and functions that have historically made this Near East Side corridor an amazing and unique area of the city (Tompkins, 2012: 4).

As this shows, although the PVCLT certainly was a more progressive plan than that proposed by PACT, its proponents still were operating within a framework that conceptualizes mixed-income planning as an appropriate strategy to the problems posed by urban poverty.

While the PVCLT received significant community support and would have facilitated the construction of mixed-income housing, PACT ultimately rejected the proposal as an inadequate solution to the problems posed by poverty in the community (CMHA, 2013). CMHA made clear that it would not relinquish ownership or management of the site, as the plan had suggested. Furthermore, the community's proposal to preserve a significant number of public housing units conflicted with the desire to attract a greater number of market-rate renters to the development. In addition, the PVCLT would have preserved what many development actors viewed as an irrational concentration of poverty in space by rehabilitating and reusing much of Poindexter Village's built environment for public housing.

The opposition articulated by many development actors to the PVCLT indicates their firm commitment to the underlying neoliberal mentalities guiding the redevelopment project. Although developers could have utilized a strategy that would have preserved more public housing, their neoliberal conceptualization of poverty and neighborhood transformation led them to reject such a strategy as irrational. The privileging of economic growth and competition by many development actors also

influenced their conduct throughout the historic preservation regulatory process, which concluded in the summer of 2013.

The Historic Preservation Process

Federal Section 106 Historic Preservation regulations required CMHA, alongside the historic preservation officers (HPOs) of the City of Columbus and the State of Ohio, to complete a historic assessment of Poindexter Village before the housing authority could complete the demolition of the development. The purpose of this process was to determine if Poindexter Village was eligible for addition into the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and, if so, what strategies CMHA would undertake to honor and preserve the historical significance of the site. If the strategies proposed by CMHA received approval from the HPOs of the state and the city, it could proceed with the planned demolition and redevelopment.

As part of the broader redevelopment project, the historic preservation process exposes divergences in perspectives among the development actors as a result of their differing priorities. In particular, the conflicting desires of those actors dedicated to historic preservation and those actors dedicated to demolishing and redeveloping the site occasionally caused significant tensions. Furthermore, the multiple and contradictory responsibilities placed on some of the development actors created conflicts of interest within the historic preservation process that guided the assessment in a direction that was favorable to CMHA and PACT. As one interviewee, a staff member with the State of Ohio, discussed:

There's this interesting working relationship between CMHA and the City of Columbus, because they form two-thirds of this partnership, PACT, that is basically promoting this whole project and the subsequent redevelopment. And it just got messy fast, that's how I would say it [. . .] there was a basic conflict of interest here. The City of Columbus, while this may not be the city's project, they admit to everyone that they are a proponent of redevelopment [. . .] So we were left with the process where CMHA knew that the project needed to be compliant, they had the City of Columbus to do the compliance for them, but the city official who was tasked by the city to represent the city was the city's historic preservation officer, who obviously has a vested interest

in ensuring that preservation be considered, but it was from a somewhat compromised position (Interview, November 25, 2013).

Despite concerns regarding the apparent conflicts of interest, the historic preservation assessment process proceeded as planned. To conduct the assessment, the city and state HPOs formed an independent working group, comprised primarily of professional historians, architects, and preservationists. Throughout the winter of 2013, the working group conducted numerous inspections of the mostly vacant housing units to determine the historical significance of the buildings and the potential for rehabilitating and refurbishing them for continued use.

The following summer, the working group organized six community meetings to discuss the local community's concerns and desires regarding the possibilities of historic preservation. The community meetings were a primary site of contention between proponents of demolition and redevelopment, represented by CMHA and PACT, and community members and others, who were skeptical of the proposed plans. The staff member from the State of Ohio recalled:

CMHA was consistently trying to portray anyone opposed to the project as a small minority within the Near East Side community, a vocal minority, but small nonetheless. Some of the meetings were just painful. You don't do 106 reviews without seeing public involvement, and it was just bad. I mean, you know, CMHA folks telling residents to "sit down and be quiet." I mean, I don't think it was handled well. Let's put it that way. It reinforced things that the residents kept bringing to the front about their concerns about CMHA, that they didn't listen. They'd hold meetings, but they didn't really listen. They went in with their preconceived ideas, or their agenda, and they were going to bend the outcome of any meeting to meet that agenda, or portray anyone who didn't agree with it as an obstructionist loony or, you know, a whackjob (Interview, November 25, 2013).

The "preconceived ideas" that the interviewee discussed involve the neoliberal mentalities guiding many of the development actors in the process. Anyone who articulated alternative priorities appeared out of touch with reality, because development actors had privileged the creation of economic competition and growth as the appropriate strategy for transforming the community,

Following the conclusion of the inspection of the existing housing units and the community meetings, the historic preservation working group produced a detailed report with its recommendations.

The working group found that Poindexter Village did qualify for inclusion on the NRHP. As a result, it recommended that CMHA rehabilitate and reuse 10 of the original 35 buildings for affordable housing, while redeveloping the rest (PVEG, 2013). According to the working group, rehabilitating and reusing these ten buildings would both preserve many of the historically significant characteristics of the neighborhood and reduce the total costs of the redevelopment project by nearly \$4 million (PVEG, 2013). The majority of these cost reductions would have come from the federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and the state Ohio Historic Preservation Tax Credit, which are competitive tax credits awarded to a select number of housing authorities and other property owners each year (PVEG, 2013).

While the historic preservation working group asserted the potential benefits of rehabilitating and reusing some of the original buildings from Poindexter Village, CMHA rejected the proposal. One of CMHA's concerns involved the availability of the tax credits factored into the cost estimates by the working group. It was not necessarily clear that CMHA would receive them if it applied, because these credits are competitive. More fundamentally, however, the preservation proposal conflicted with the mentalities guiding the broader priority of transforming the neighborhood into a more competitive community. In a response to the working group's recommendation, a real-estate firm consulting with CMHA, wrote:

What is the target market for renovated buildings? If these are for public housing residents, then the history of concentrating poverty lives on [. . .] The [working group's] report refers to the utilitarian design of Poindexter Village, and this is typical of public housing across the country. While the design met the basic goals of providing shelter, it stands in contrast to the design of the surrounding community. This is true not only of the buildings themselves (both exteriors and interiors), but of the street layout which disrupted the surrounding street grid to create superblocks. The superblock design is well-documented by public policy and planning experts as contributing to physical isolation [. . .] Interior courtyards within superblocks, while providing space for social interaction, do not meet 21st century expectations of defensible space" (Written communication, July 19, 2013).

As a result, CMHA decided to preserve two of the existing buildings for non-residential purposes, potentially as a museum of Poindexter Village and the Near East Side, and demolish the remaining

buildings.

Although the state and city HPOs approved CMHA's decision, allowing demolition to move forward, some members of the historic preservation working group expressed disappointment at the results of the process. For instance, one interviewee, a staff member at the City of Columbus, reflected:

I think it's a missed opportunity to turn a pod of ten buildings into an adaptive re-use that could have been a really wonderful example and also a good product, but they didn't see it that way. It's just not a business model that they're used to or comfortable with. I don't think that's unique to them. I think a lot of people look at older buildings and can't see how they can make a 21st century living experience out of them. I think that's part of the problem. In the end, it's about price points, dollars and cents (Interview, November 8, 2013).

The staff member at the State of Ohio articulated a more critical perspective, explicitly framing the process as a strategy of gentrification:

I think they want to build more expensive units, market them to doctors and nurses who work at the hospital, and totally flip the neighborhood. And that of course gets back to what the neighborhood is really concerned about: that this is really just the latest in a series of gentrification, stealing the community from African Americans and handing it to yuppies who work in the medical profession [. . .] the writing on the wall is that this community is going to change (Interview, November 25, 2013).

The criticism of CMHA's decision to demolish and redevelop Poindexter Village articulated by other development actors reflects the multiplicity of interests and priorities that have characterized and guided decision-making throughout the process. It also illustrates the ways in which the varied positions of individual actors involved in urban planning can lead to uneven and partial enrollment into the prevailing mentalities that guide such projects.

The contradictions and tensions that have existed among development actors make clear the necessity of avoiding *a priori* assumptions regarding the presumed homogeneity of interests among individuals and groups. Instead, I believe it is fruitful for scholars to ask how and why actors have or have not come to share certain interests within a given context by foregrounding the concrete practices and discourses of individual actors. Additionally, situating contemporary discourses and practices within a

critical history may reveal how the underlying mentalities guiding them have developed over time. Utilizing this approach, I suggest that the mentalities guiding the contemporary redevelopment of Poindexter Village developed and diffused alongside the emergence of public housing policy in the early 20th century.

Connecting the Present with the Past: Continuities Across Planning Practices

Before the construction of Poindexter Village, the site of the current redevelopment project was home to a largely informal and desperately poor community, known locally as the Blackberry Patch. The demolition of the Blackberry Patch to facilitate the construction of Poindexter Village involved significant displacement and disruption, even as many residents benefited from the new public housing. As the CMHA staff member stated:

[Poindexter Village] replaced the Blackberry Patch, which was an area of basically shantytown, lean-tos, that lacked utilities, running water and in-door plumbing. So, while Poindexter Village, when it was built was very new, compared to what used to be there, now we're going to do the same thing. Now that it's 2013-4, we're going to take what was Poindexter, which was a vast improvement over what it replaced, and do the same thing (Interview, December 30, 2013).

The emergence of the public housing policies that produced Poindexter Village traces back at least to the 19th century. Particularly important was the advocacy of late-19th century housing reformers for the demolition of urban slums (Pritchett, 2003).

From the Blackberry Patch to Poindexter Village: The Origins of Public Housing

Slums were areas of high poverty and crime characterized by informal and dilapidated housing. Reflecting what Huxley (2006: 774) has termed "dispositional" mentalities of spatial determinism, housing reformers targeted the organization of space and the built environment within slums as a principal cause for the problems within them (Pritchett, 2003). From their view, it was necessary to

eradicate slums and replace them with new housing that would promote greater social control (Pritchett, 2003).

The housing reformers formed coalitions with private real-estate developers and city politicians to identify and eliminate urban slums (Pritchett, 2003). For private real-estate interests, the clearance of slums promised to open up new, and potentially profitable, sites for investment. For city governments, slum clearance would eliminate problem sites that drained municipal budgets, build favor with private interest groups, and bolster tax bases through increases in property taxes. These actors from diverse backgrounds found a common language in the scientific and rationalist discourses of the developing field of urban planning (Pritchett, 2003).

The early field of urban planning brought together discourses relating to dispositional mentalities of spatial determinism and neoliberal mentalities of economic competition and growth. The result was a regime of practices that linked the transformation of sites of urban disorder to the stimulation of urban renewal and investment (Pritchett, 2003). In the early 1920s, then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who firmly supported the new regime of urban planning, greatly assisted the diffusion of these mentalities.

In 1921, Hoover established the Special Division of Building and Housing (SDBH) (Pritchett, 2003). Under his watch, the SDBH advocated for the state-level adoption of urban planning policies through the drafting of model legislation, such as the Standard City Planning Enabling Act, which many states passed throughout the decade (Pritchett, 2003). It also produced and distributed the *City Planning Primer*, which communicated the benefits of urban planning to cities and states (Pritchett, 2003). The efforts of Hoover and others during the 1920s greatly popularized the discourses of urban planning and significantly influenced the housing programs of the following decade.

In 1934, the United States Congress passed the National Housing Act, followed by the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act three years later, as part of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs (Pritchett, 2003; Hanan, 2010; Goodman, 1940). In addition to establishing new federal loan programs to

increase home-ownership, the laws also established the United States Housing Authority and empowered city governments to construct public housing (Hanan, 2010).

These new federal programs explicitly linked public housing construction to urban revitalization by requiring cities to demolish a unit of slum housing for each public housing unit that it constructed (Pritchett, 2003; Goodman, 1940). This process centered on the identification and targeting of poor neighborhoods through discourses of urban blight (Pritchett, 2003). Discourses of blight reflected popular sentiments regarding the social problems in urban slums. They also communicated the economic problems resultant from unproductive and uncompetitive uses of space (Pritchett, 2003). For example, Mabel Walker (1938:3) defined blighted areas as those that have “deteriorated from an economic standpoint and therefore become less profitable to the city, the general public and the owners of its real estate.”

The identification and classification of neighborhoods on the basis of blight was a diffuse and sometimes contradictory process, accomplished primarily by individual housing auditors (Pritchett, 2003; Weber, 2001). Because there were few specific criteria established for determining the existence of blight, these auditors possessed significant autonomy in the process (Pritchett, 2003; Weber, 2001). They often cited excessive housing occupancy, low household income levels, dilapidated architecture, and the organization of buildings, as indicative of blight. However, though many neighborhoods shared these characteristics, it was disproportionately African American neighborhoods that were designated as blighted.

Rose (1999) observes that techniques of power operate by constituting social space as distinct and governable sites. The statistics and classifications associated with the assessment of blight functioned as techniques of biopower, constituting whole neighborhoods as uncompetitive and irrational, in accordance with mentalities of neoliberalism, spatial determinism, and white supremacy. The facially apolitical nature of the discourses of blight provided scientific respectability to the process (Weber, 2001). The demolition of blighted sites freed valuable urban real-estate for new development and increased property

values in the surrounding communities, making urban centers more competitive and attracting new economic investment (Pritchett, 2003). The construction of public housing also brought precarious populations into an environment of surveillance, where employees at the new housing authorities could monitor and discipline behaviors deemed deviant in accordance with prevailing mentalities (Pritchett, 2003).

Following the passage of the Housing Acts of 1934 and 1937, the Ohio Legislature and the Ohio State Board of Housing created the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority (PACT, 2013). The housing authority identified the Blackberry Patch as the site for Poindexter Village, its first development (Goodman, 1940). CMHA acquired the nearly 370 housing units that comprised the Blackberry Patch almost exclusively through direct purchase (Goodman, 1940). Although property owners were not required to sell their properties to the Housing Authority, the threat of impending development was sufficient to push those who were reluctant out of their houses.

Entrenched racial segregation and systemic red-lining limited the amount of replacement housing available to the former residents of the Blackberry Patch. At any one time, there were fewer than 100 units of replacement housing available throughout the whole city (Goodman, 1940). Many of those who did find replacement housing reported having to pay higher rents and live in more crowded conditions than in their previous residences (Goodman, 1940). Many also indicated their reluctance to move into the new development, because they viewed the Housing Authority's work and conduct rules to be too stringent (Goodman, 1940).

Still, residency in the new development undeniably led to real improvement in the quality of life for those who desired qualified for occupancy. Indeed, testimonies from some of the former residents of Poindexter in its early days suggest it gave many individuals their first experiences with the conveniences of mid-20th century urban life -- stoves, electricity, heating, and indoor sanitation (Ferenchik, 2013b). The measure of economic and social stability provided by the development was instrumental in lifting some families out of poverty (Ferenchik, 2013b). Poindexter Village also became the heart of African

American culture in Columbus, home to numerous artists and musicians, most famously Aminah Robinson (Ferenchik, 2013b).

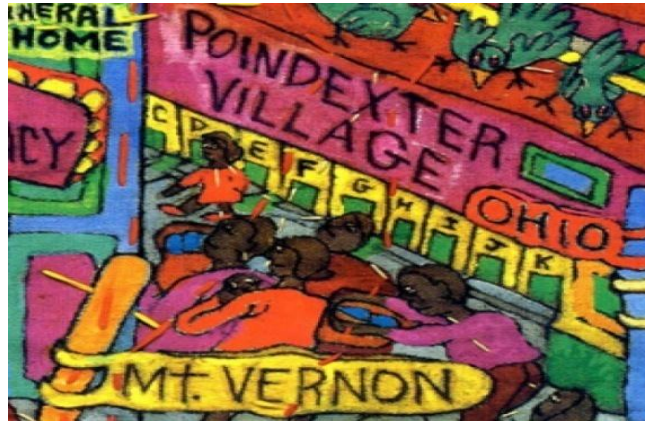


Figure 3. *Poindexter Village: A Street Called Home*, by Aminah Robinson.

The Decline of Poindexter Village and A New Round of Rationalization

Beginning in the 1960s, the promises of Poindexter Village, and many of the numerous other public housing developments across the country, began to fade in the wake of increasing urban poverty. Urban deindustrialization, the development of the suburbs, and the resultant shift of economic investment and employment away from city centers prompted the urban middle classes to relocate to suburban communities (Keating, 2000). With the formal criminalization of explicitly racist housing policies, many middle-class African Americans left the Near East Side and joined the migration to the suburbs (Wray, 2011). The departure of the middle classes from the community left behind a population increasingly characterized by extreme poverty with few opportunities for meaningful employment (Wray, 2011). Today, half of the residents of the Near East Side live below the poverty line, while less than a quarter of all houses in the community are occupied (PACT, 2013).

Wide-scale disinvestment from the Near East Side exacerbated reductions in federal housing funding, resulting in a significant decline in the living conditions of the housing units comprising Poindexter Village and the quality of life for its residents (Ferenchik, 2012c). There often were insufficient resources to fund necessary upkeep, because federal housing policy required local housing authorities to fund maintenance exclusively through the rents paid by residents. These low rents were

often insufficient to fund even basic maintenance and landscaping (Wray, 2011).

While Columbus attracted significant new economic investment during the 1990s and 2000s, stimulating rapid growth in much of the city, this new prosperity did not improve the quality of life for the residents of Poindexter Village or the broader Near East Side (Ferenchik, 2012c). Instead, the Near East Side, mired in its poverty, became isolated economically and socially from the surrounding communities (Ferenchik, 2012c). This poverty has become so stark relative to rest of the city that CMHA (2013) has distinguished between multiple "cities" within Columbus: the wealthier communities experiencing new growth and investment, and the poorer communities located mostly near the center of the city. This perspective corresponded with popular discourses that regard the Near East Side as an especially "bad neighborhood" on the basis of crime and poverty (Wray, 2011).

The discursive boundaries established through CMHA and popular discourse constituted the Near East Side as a governable space characterized by economic decline and social disorder (Rose, 1999). While developers originally viewed the construction of Poindexter Village, and public housing more generally, as an appropriate strategy to facilitate economic growth and create social stability in the community, economic disinvestment and popular discourse had constituted the development as a source of economic disorder and irrationality. As a result, developers believed it was necessary to repeat the process of economic rationalization to bring the site back in line with neoliberal mentalities. The decision to demolish and redevelop Poindexter Village, then, represents a fundamental continuation of many of the mentalities that linked the construction of public housing to the demolition of blighted sites, the creation of Poindexter Village to the destruction of the Blackberry Patch.

Conclusion: The "major pieces are in place," but for whom?

The demolition and redevelopment of Poindexter Village represents only the next stage in an unjust and violent cycle of disinvestment, dispossession, and rationalization carried out on that site

throughout history. Guided by mentalities similar to those that shaped the construction of Poindexter Village, contemporary development actors have utilized a strategy that privileges an economically competitive use of space, as opposed to equity and human welfare, as the proper means of achieving positive social outcomes. This development strategy has not entailed the state deregulation of the housing market; rather, it has involved the formulation of new strategies of regulation, centered on the devolution and individualization of risk, aimed at guiding poor residents to govern themselves as neoliberal subjects. The intersection of neoliberal and racist mentalities influenced developers to identify a deviant "culture" in the neighborhood as a primary source of the residents' poverty. This perspective underscored developers' strategies, which did not target the fundamental causes of the residents' poverty but instead further marginalized an already oppressed population.

CMHA and PACT rejected alternative proposals submitted by community members and historic preservationists to preserve additional public and affordable housing units because they assumed such strategies would not stimulate the changes necessary to improve an apparently disorderly and unproductive community. The rejection of alternative proposals created tensions among development actors, leading some to become highly critical of the redevelopment process. Other development actors expressed contradictory sentiments, articulating both liberal concerns for higher wages and neoliberal aversions to social welfare expenditures. A Foucauldian research approach is useful in identifying and investigating the contradictions that exist among privileged actors in urban planning because it analytically foregrounds concrete discourse and resists the temptation to assume *a priori* the homogeneity of interests and perspectives of elite actors. Other leftist analyses of urban planning that essentialize elite actors may fail to recognize and incorporate the heterogeneity that exists within decision-making processes in urban planning.

As one actor involved in the redevelopment of Poindexter Village said of the project, "The major pieces are there for it to be something very significant. And that's what I'm hoping" (Interview, December 2, 2013). Indeed, if the examples of other HOPE VI sites are any indication, the

neighborhoods surrounding Poindexter Village will look exceptionally different in the relatively near future. How the benefits of redevelopment will be distributed remains to be seen, but it seems unlikely that the remaining poor residents will enjoy many of them.

Although it is not possible to know what strategies of resistance may be the most appropriate and effective until new residents move to the completed development, the possibility for critical engagement and resistance nonetheless remains. The preceding analysis of the mentalities of neoliberalism and white hegemony influencing development actors may assist community members in understanding how developers have conceptualized them as subjects. Furthermore, the examination of the contradictions within these mentalities may prove useful in identifying potential points of rupture, which community members could exploit to challenge the underlying assumptions of the development decisions. If community members and residents are able to develop technologies of resistance that successfully challenge the mentalities underlying the redevelopment strategy, they can contribute to the articulation of new, more socially just mentalities (Lee, 2007).

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